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	SR-00	SS-00	TRSE-00	T-01	USIE-00	/034W	
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O 201243Z NOV 92
FM AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 9518
INFO AMEMBASSY KIGALI IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY DAKAR PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY KAMPALA PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY BAMAKO
AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS
AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA
AMEMBASSY HARARE
AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY NAIROBI
AMEMBASSY PARIS
USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN GE //ECPLAD//

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 03 DAR ES SALAAM 06690

AF/RA FOR COL. MARLEY, AF/C FOR CAROL FULLER

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ALSO FOR AF/E, RP

BONN FOR KLEMP, BRUSSELS FOR DUBROW, LONDON FOR
MCKINLEY, PARIS FOR PERLOW

E.O. 12356: DECL:OADR
TAGS: PREL, PGOV, MARR, OAU, RW, TZ
SUBJECT: ARUSHA V - GOING AHEAD ON NOV. 23, MILITARY
- INTEGRATION TO TOP AGENDA

REF: A) KIGALI 04765

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B) DAR ES SALAAM 06621 AND PREVIOUS

1. CONFIDENTIAL - ENTIRE TEXT.

2. SUMMARY. THE TANZANIANS, IN THEIR ROL AS FACILITATOR, CONVENED ANOTHER MEETING OF OBSERVER REPRESENTATIVES IN DAR ES SALAAM NOVEMBER 20. IT WAS AGREED THAT IN VIEW OF REQUESTS FROM BOTH SIDES THAT TALKS CONTINUE ON SCHEDULE, AND THAT A CHANGE OF AGENDA APPEARS ACCEPTABLE, TALKS WILL RECONVENE IN ARUSHA ON NOVEMBER 23, WITH MILITARY INTEGRATION BEING THE TOP ITEM ON THE AGENDA. THE TANZANIANS WILL BE PREPARED TO HOST CONTINUOUS NEGOTIATIONS ON ALL AREAS THROUGH DECEMBER 23RD, IF NEEDED. WE EXPECT, AS IN PAST SESSIONS, THAT THE DELEGATIONS WILL TRICKLE IN OVER NOVEMBER 23-24, WITH DISCUSSIONS NOT REALLY COMMENCING EARLIER THAN THE EVENING OF THE 23RD. POLOFF BENTLEY WILL REMAIN IN DAR ES SALAAM THE MORNING OF THE 23RD TO RECIEVE ANY LAST MINUTE INPUT FROM KIGALI OR THE DEPARTMENT. WE SUGGEST A U.S.

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MILITARY EXPERT BE DISPATCHED TO ARUSHA ASAP. END
SUMMARY.

OBSERVERS MEET AGAIN

3. AMBASSADOR AMI MPUNGWE, MFA DIRECTOR FOR AFRICA AND MIDDLE EAST, CONVENED A MEETING OF OBSERVER REPRESENTATIVES ON NOVEMBER 20 TO DETERMINE WHETHER TO GO AHEAD WITH THE NEXT ROUND ON NOVEMBER 23. GERMANY, BURUNDI, AND UGANDA WERE REPRESENTED BY THEIR AMBASSADORS; FRANCE AND ZAIRE BY CHARGES; AND UNDP BY A DEPUTY TO THE RESIDENT REPRESENTATIVE. CHARGE AND POLOFF ATTENDED FOR THE U.S. BELGIUM DID NOT ATTEND.

4. MPUNGWE OPENED THE MEETING BY UPDATING THE ATTENDEES ON WHAT HE HAD HEARD FROM THE TANZANIAN AMBASSADOR IN KIGALI. IN SUM, THIS WAS THAT THE MEETINGS FACILITATED BY THE CHURCH LEADERS AMONG THE VARIOUS PARTIES AND THE PRESIDENT WERE CONTINUING BUT NO CONSENSUS ON THE ISSUES INVOLVED HAD AS YET TAKEN SHAPE. HE ADDED THAT THE AMBASSADOR HAD MET WITH PRESIDENT HABYARIMANA ON NOV. 19, AND THE PRESIDENT HAD STATED THAT HE WANTED THE TALKS TO RECONVENE ON

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THE 23RD, WITH REFUGEES OR MILITARY SUBJECTS AS THE
LEAD ITEMS ON THE AGENDA. MPUNGWE SAID THAT THE GOT
IS AGREEABLE TO A RESUMPTION ON THE 23RD, AND TO THE
CHANGE OF AGENDA, BUT HAD NOT YET GOTTEN A REACTION
FROM THE RPF. HE STATED THAT PRESIDENT MWINYI
REMAINED CLOSELY ENGAGED, AND WAS URGING PRESIDENT
HABYARIMANA TO TAKE AN ACTIVE ROLE IN BREAKING THE
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POLITICAL IMPASSE IN KIGALI.

RPF ON ITS WAY

5. UGANDAN HIGH COMMISSIONER MATOGO THEN TOLD THE
MEETING THAT THE RPF WAS "ON ITS WAY" TO ARUSHA. HE
HAD HEARD INFORMALLY, FROM KAMPALA, THAT THE RPF
WANTED THE TALKS TO RESUME ON THE 23RD AND HAD "NO
OBJECTION" TO CHANGING THE AGENDA TO OPEN WITH
MILITARY INTEGRATION. KAMPALA HAD INDICATED THAT THE
RPF FELT IT WAS IMPORTANT TO SUSTAIN THE MOMENTUM OF

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THE NEGOTIATIONS. THERE WAS SOME CONCERN THAT ANY
DELAY WOULD INCREASE THE RESTLESSNESS OF THE TROOPS IN
THE FIELD, ENDANGERING THE CEASE-FIRE.

6. THE GERMAN AMBASSADOR AGREED THAT IT WAS IMPORTANT
TO SUSTAIN THE MOMENTUM OF THE TALKS- HE ASKED WHAT
THE STATE OF PLAY WAS ON MRND OBJECTIONS TO THE THREE
ARTICLES (14, 21 AND 46) OF THE ARUSHA PROTOCOL.
MPUNGWE ANSWERED THAT THE TANZANIAN AMBASSADOR IN
KIGALI HAD APPROACHED PRESIDENT HABYARIMANA FOR
CLARIFICATION ON THIS ISSUE (THE TANZANIANS WERE
PARTICULARLY MIFFED THAT HABYARIMANA, IN A RECENT

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SPEECH IN RUHENGERI, HAD REPORTEDLY CHARACTERIZED THE ARUSHA IV ROUND AS A "CIVIL COUP D'ETAT"). MPUNGWE SAID THAT HABYARIMANA STATED THAT THE ARTICLES IN QUESTION WERE "PROBLEMATIC," AND GREAT CARE WOULD BE NEEDED TO ENSURE THAT THEIR IMPLEMENTATION DID NOT RAISE "UNNECESSARY DIFFICULTIES." BUT HE REAFFIRMED HIS COMMITMENT TO THE ARUSHA PROTOCOL AS IT STANDS.

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7. U.S. REPS ADVISED THE GROUP CONCERNING THE
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UPCOMING CHANGE IN OUR REPRESENTATION, AND NOTED THAT SINCE WE HAD INDICATIONS FROM BOTH SIDES OF A DESIRE TO RESUME ON THE 23RD AND TO DISCUSS MILITARY INTEGRATION, THE FACILITATOR SHOULD PROCEED ON THAT BASIS.

8. THE BURUNDI AMBASSADOR, CITING A RADIO RWANDA BROADCAST THAT MORNING, SAID THERE WERE SOME INDICATIONS THAT THE PARTIES IN KIGALI WERE NEARING AGREEMENT AND THAT TALKS SHOULD PROCEED. THE FRENCH CHARGE AGREED WITH THIS BUT ADDED THAT TO ENABLE THEIR GOVERNMENTS TO HAVE THE APPROPRIATE EXPERTS ON HAND IT WAS ESSENTIAL TO CONFIRM THAT THE AGENDA WAS BEING CHANGED FROM POLITICAL TO MILITARY.

9. AMBASSADOR MPUNGWE AGREED THAT IT WAS LATE IN THE DAY TO SWITCH THE AGENDA, AND WAS A LITTLE WORRIED ABOUT OPENING UP A SECOND AREA OF CONTENTION, BUT SAID HE FELT IT WAS IMPORTANT TO KEEP THE TALKS GOING. THE UNDP REP INDICATED THAT HE WAS READY TO GO WHENEVER THE OTHERS WERE.

10. MATOGO REMARKED THAT THE PRIORITY FOR UGANDA WAS A SETTLEMENT OF THE REFUGEE QUESTION. BUT HIS GOVERNMENT REALIZED THAT THIS WOULD PROBABLY HAVE TO COME LAST; THERE WAS NO POINT WORKING ON REFUGEE ISSUES UNLESS SETTLEMENTS HAD BEEN REACHED IN THE OTHER AREAS. HE ADDED THAT ON THE QUESTION OF THE THREE CONTENTIOUS ARTICLES IN THE PROTOCOL, KAMPALA WOULD SUPPORT FURTHER CONSIDERATION OF THE MECHANISMS TO IMPLEMENT THEM BUT DID NOT WANT THE CLAUSES

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RENEGOTIATED. FOR THE AGENDA OF THE NEXT ROUND, HE
INDICATED THAT MILITARY ISSUES WOULD ALSO BE EASIER TO
HANDLE; THE REFUGEE QUESTIONS WOULD REQUIRE MORE
DETAILED PREPARATION.

11. MPUNGWE SUMMED UP THE SENSE OF MEETING BY SAYING
THAT THE TALKS WOULD RECONVENE IN ARUSHA ON NOVEMBER

23, AND THAT MILITARY INTEGRATION WOULD BE THE FIRST
ITEM ON THE AGENDA. HE ALSO NOTED THAT OAU SECGEN
SALIM WAS ACTIVE WITH BOTH PARTIES, PRESSING THEM TO
BE PRACTICAL AND REALISTIC IN THEIR DEMANDS. MATOGO
REMARKED THAT THE EXACT FORM OF THE TRANSITIONAL

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GOVERNMENT WAS LESS IMPORTANT THAN GUARANTEEING
PARTICIPATION. UGANDA FELT THE RPF SHOULD ACCEPT
REASONABLE OFFERS IN THIS REGARD. HE ADDED THAT ON
THE INTEGRATION OF FORCES, UGANDA WOULD URGE THE RPF
TO ACCEPT A PROPORTIONAL FORMULA SUBSTANTIALLY LESS
THAN 50-50; 30 PERCENT WOULD BE ADEQUATE AND A BETTER
EXPRESSION OF THEIR ACTUAL NUMBERS.

12. MPUNGWE, CLOSING THE MEETING, SAID THAT HE WAS
MAKING ARRANGMENTS FOR THE TALKS TO CONTINUE THROUGH
DECEMBER 23. HE SAID HIS GOVERNMENT WANTED TO FINISH
BY THE END OF THE YEAR; HE HOPED THIS WOULD BE
POSSIBLE, AS THE RPF HAD INDICATED THEY WANTED TO
PRESENT "A CHRISTMAS PRESENT TO THE PEOPLE OF
RWANDA." HE CALLED THE OBSERVERS' ATTENTION TO RECENT
INSTANCES OF MILITARY UNREST AND THE DEMONSTRATION IN
KIGALI ON NOV. 19 AS INDICATORS OF THE NEED FOR SPEEDY
PROGRESS. HE REITERATED THAT PRESIDENT MWINYI WAS
FULLY COMMITTED TO SUPPORTING THE EFFORT, AND THAT
THERE SHOULD BE "NO LIMIT" TO THE PARTIES'
FLEXIBILITY.

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13. COMMENT. IF PAST SESSIONS ARE ANY GUIDE, WE DO NOT EXPECT TALKS TO GET FULLY UNDERWAY UNTIL LATE ON THE 23RD OR ON THE 24TH, AFTER THE PARTIES HAVE ALL TRICKLED IN. BENTLEY WILL DEPART HERE AT MIDDAY ON THE 23RD, WHICH SHOULD ALLOW TIME FOR ANY LAST-MINUTE INSTRUCTIONS OR SUGGESTIONS FROM THE DEPARTMENT OR KIGALI. WE BELIEVE COL. MARLEY HAS ALREADY PROVIDED TO THE OAU INFORMATION ON MILITARY INTEGRATION IN THE SETTLEMENTS IN NICARAGUA, EL SALVADOR, ANGOLA AND NAMIBIA; WE THINK IT MIGHT BE APPROPRIATE TO ADD ZIMBABWE TO THAT STACK AS WELL. AND WHILE WE HATE TO SPOIL COL. MARLEY'S THANKSGIVING WEEKEND, WE SUGGEST THAT HE OR ANOTHER SUITABLE MILITARY EXPERT COME TO ARUSHA BY THE 28TH OR 29TH AT THE LATEST.

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